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better *to suffer* wrong than *to do* wrong, reversed. I hear it proclaimed aloud, better to *do* wrong than to *suffer* wrong. Wrong must be punished by outrage.

The system of war, as a *mode of vindicating right*, is a system of indiscriminating violence. Its horrors are not *incidental* to the penalty—but a *part* of the penalty itself. This it is which makes it *unlike* the system of *penal law*—this it is which makes it a *barbarous* system—this it is which makes it an *unchristian* system—this it is which makes it a great and a heinous *sin* against God—this it is which should arouse all Christians and all good men to labor and pray—that it may be done away from under the whole heaven.

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### ARTICLE III.

#### REVIEW OF UPHAM'S MANUAL OF PEACE.

*The Manual of Peace, embracing, 1st. Evils and Remedies of War ; 2d. Suggestions on the Law of Nations ; 3d. Consideration of a Congress of Nations, by Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. New-York : Leavitt, Lord & Co. 1836. pp. 403, 8vo.*

Professor Upham has for several years been known as a decided and able advocate of the cause of peace. His attention was first called to the subject, as he informs us in his preface to the present work, by the labors of a gentleman, who, for nearly sixteen years, has not ceased to devote his mind and his substance to the object of promoting peace. It scarcely need be said, that we refer to Mr. William Ladd. The seed sown by him has sometimes fallen on good ground ; and sprung up, and is now producing its fruit.

The work of Professor Upham exhibits evidence that he has a mind richly stored with knowledge, and warm with the zeal

of philanthropy. Many a page of it glows with the ardor which such a subject, in such a mind, is calculated to enkindle. The style is that of a writer who is in earnest; it is spirited, interesting, we may even say, fascinating. The work, in size, form and appearance, is, so far as we know, altogether more respectable than any other work on the subject which has been issued from the press. The name and station of the author will naturally attract attention to it, and cause it to be read. Although it is but a few months since the first edition was published, we are informed the copies are all sold.

The first part of the work is occupied with the statements and views of the author in regard to the Evils and Remedies of War. The object of the author, in his statement of the evils of war, seems to be to excite attention to the subject, and lead men to inquire into the necessity of their existence. Many of our readers may not have opportunity to read the work, we shall therefore give, as we proceed, some extracts as specimens of the whole. The author first notices some of the most prominent objects which appear on the field of battle, and then speaks of the immediate result:—

“After a while the smoke rolls slowly away; and, in the light of the glaring and sickly sun, we behold the whole plain covered with human bodies; multitudes of them dead, and others in a state of intense suffering from their wounds. And if we undertake to count them, the enumeration only increases that overwhelming sensation, which the mere glance had tended to inspire. On the field of Austerlitz twenty thousand; on the field of Bautzen twenty-five thousand; at Dresden thirty thousand; at Waterloo forty thousand; at Eylau fifty thousand; at Borodino eighty thousand.

“We do not go back to the dreadful scenes of antiquity, to the days of the Alexanders, and the Hannibals, and the Cæsars, to the battle fields of Cannæ and Phillippi; but look merely at what has taken place in our own days, and as it were under our own eyes; and what renders it still more surprising, amid the light of civilization and under the blaze of the Gospel. As we cast our eyes over the field of battle, covered with such a multitude of dead and wounded persons, we cannot but be filled with astonishment and horror; especially when we remember, that the combatants are all the dependent and favored children of that great Being, who not only made them, but required them to love one another. Certain

it is, that the spectator, as he looks upon the field of battle, has emotions of unmingled surprise and consternation ; he feels that a dreadful crime has been committed, the guilt of which rests somewhere ; he is stunned and amazed, and hardly knows what character to attach to man, who can permit himself to be engaged in such transactions ; and yet it cannot be doubted that the effect of the scene which is before him, is lessened by its own dimensions, is diminished by its very vastness. The man, who is thinking of the sufferings of forty or fifty thousands, can have no very distinct conceptions of the sufferings of a particular individual in that vast number. If he could take a full and distinct view of the sufferings of each one in that great multitude ; if he could see the tears and the agonies in each particular case ; and by some process of intellectual and sentient arithmetic could bring them all into one sum, and place them all before the mind at once, what a vast amount ! what unparalleled wretchedness ! with what torture would it fill the soul ! But this cannot be ; the structure of the human mind is such as not to admit of it. And it is for this reason, that we will turn away a moment from the contemplation of the scene in its totality, in its more general features, for the purpose of seeing it in its parts, its fragments, its particular instances.

“ There was a certain Captain Cooke in the British army at the battle of New Orleans, who has recently given to the public some interesting incidents, which took place under his own eye in that memorable engagement. And it is *incidents*, the facts in which individuals are concerned, the insulated details of a battle, and not the whole, assimilated and contemplated in one broad mass, which is to give us the precisely true conception of the miseries which are endured on such occasions. On the morning of the eighth of January, the officer above referred to saw three companies of soldiers, about two hundred and forty in number, advancing on the high road to New Orleans, for the purpose of attacking what was called the crescent battery. Among other persons he saw lieutenant Duncan Campbell, with whom he seems to have been particularly acquainted, and asked him where he was going. The lieutenant replied, that he did not know. Then, said Captain Cooke, ‘ you have got into what I call a good thing ; the far famed American battery is in front at a short range ; and on the left this spot is flanked at eight hundred yards by their batteries on the opposite side of the river.’ At this piece of information the lieutenant laughed heartily. Captain Cooke advised him to take off his blue pelisse coat, in order to be like the rest of the men ; but he promptly refused, uttering at the same time some expressions of defiance against the Americans ; and having embraced the captain, went onward. He was a young officer of twenty years of age, of a fine personal appearance, and had fought in many bloody encounters in France and Spain. But what was the fate, which war had reserved for one so young, so interesting in appearance,

and towards whom, undoubtedly, the affections of many friends in a distant land were fondly directed! Near the close of the battle, lieutenant Duncan Campbell, says the writer, 'was seen to our left running about in circles, first staggering one way, then another, and at length he fell on the sod helplessly upon his face, and again tumbled, and when he was picked up, he was found to be blind from the effects of grape shot, that had torn open his forehead, given him a slight wound in the leg, and had also ripped the scabbard from his side, and knocked the cap from his head. While being borne insensible to the rear, he still clenched the hilt of his sword with a convulsive grasp, the blade thereof being broken off close at the hilt with grape shot, and in a state of delirium and suffering he lived for a few days.' Here is an incident which may be called a common one; he died much as any other soldier on the field of battle may be supposed to die; but this is the cause of the difference in our feelings; we single him out from the rest of the multitude; we do not mingle and confound and lose sight of his suffering, in the vague and indefinite idea of suffering in the mass; and while we are too often unmoved, in consequence of our inability to combine a particular and a general view, by the general statement of thousands having suffered, we at once exclaim, when our eye is fixed on a single case like the one before us, what a shocking death is this! What barbarity there is in war! What insanity in men, that they should butcher and tear to pieces one another!

"For five hours, (continues the narrative of this officer,) the enemy plied us with grape and round shot; some of the wounded, lying in the mud or on the wet grass, managed to crawl away, but every now and then some unfortunate man was lifted off the ground by round shot, and lay killed or mangled. During the tedious hours we remained in front, it was necessary to lie on the ground to cover ourselves from the projectiles. An officer of our regiment was in a reclining posture, when grape-shot passed through both his knees; at first he sunk back faintly; but at length opening his eyes and looking at his wounds, he said, 'Carry me away, I am *chilled to death*;' and as he was hoisted on men's shoulders, more round and grape shot passed his head. Taking off his cap, he waved it; and after many narrow escapes, got out of range, suffered amputation of both legs, but died of his wounds on board ship, after enduring all the pain of the surgical operation, and passing down the lake in an open boat."

There was an individual present at the naval battle of Trafalgar, who relates some things that came under his personal notice. From the account abridged and prepared for the second volume of the *Harbinger of Peace*, we make the following extract:—"Now that the conflict was over, our kindred feelings resumed their sway. Eager inquiries were expressed, and earnest congratulations exchanged at this moment. The officers came to make their report to the cap-

tain, and the fatal result cast a gloom over the scene of our triumph. I have alluded to the impressions of our first lieutenant, that he should not survive the contest. This gallant officer was severely wounded in the thigh, and underwent amputation; but his prediction was realized; for he expired before the action had ceased. The junior lieutenant was also mortally wounded on the quarter deck. These gallant fellows were lying beside each other in the gun room preparatory to their being committed to the deep; and here many met to take a last look of our departed friends, whose remains soon floated in the promiscuous multitude, without distinction either of rank or nation. In the act of launching a poor sailor over the poop he was discovered to breathe; and after being a week in the hospital, the ball which entered the temple came out of his mouth. I notice this occurrence to show the probability, that many are thrown overboard when life is not extinct. The upper deck presented a confused and dreadful appearance. Masts, yards, sails, ropes, and fragments of wreck were scattered in every direction: nothing could be more horrible than the scene of blood and mangled remains with which every part was covered, and which, from the quantity of splinters, resembled a shipwright's yard strewn with gore.

"From our extensive loss, thirty-four killed and ninety-six wounded, our cock-pit exhibited a scene of suffering and carnage which rarely occurs. I visited this abode of suffering with the natural impulse which led many others thither, namely, to ascertain the fate of a friend or companion. So many bodies in such a confined place, and under such distressing circumstances, would affect the most obdurate heart; my nerves were but little accustomed to such trials, but even the dangers of the battle did not seem more terrific than the spectacle before me. On a long table lay several anxiously looking for their turn to receive the surgeon's care, yet dreading the fate which he might pronounce. One subject was undergoing amputation, and every part was heaped with sufferers. Their piercing shrieks and expiring groans were echoed through this vault of misery; and even at this distant period the heart-sickening picture is alive in my memory."

Professor Upham, after giving extracts from Labaume's Narrative of the Campaign in Russia, and some details of the capture of Magdeburg in Prussia, by Count de Tilly, in the 'Thirty Years' War, thus concludes the subject:—

"It has been our object, in the extracts which have been made, not only to give a general idea of the miseries of war, but in particular to free the mind from that illusion, to which it is so liable to be subject, when it contemplates things in the mass, and is either

too indolent or too little interested, to look into their elements. Well does the author of *Recollections of the Peninsula* say, ‘when the history of any individual, who has fallen, is brought before us, we feel deeply, but wander over ground, covered with corpses about whom we know nothing, with comparative indifference; yet if we knew the history attached to each lifeless body on which we gazed, with what tales of sorrow should we not become acquainted!’ In this very writer, who was himself an officer in the English army of the Peninsula, and who seems to have been sufficiently partial to a soldier’s life, we have a number of affecting instances fully illustrative of this just remark. What recompense had the pomp and splendor of military life to that wretched captain of the 29th regiment, who, dreadfully lacerated by a ball, lay directly in the path of his comrades, and with a heart-rending accent of grief, cried for water, or that they would kill him; but no one regarded his request? What consolation had the glitter of an epaulette and the sound of the spirit-stirring fife for that mangled and lifeless youth, not yet eighteen years of age, the darling child of a fond mother, who mourned in brokenness of heart on the banks of the murmuring and peaceful Loire! What balm was it in the power of earth to furnish to that miserable man, who, coming upon the field of Victoria and inquiring for his two sons, the only remains of his beloved family, found them both dead! Who can measure the misery of that native of Arragon, who had himself been wounded in the field of battle, who had seen his mother dying of grief, his wife brutally dishonored and perishing in a hospital, his cottage burnt, and his father led out and shot in the market place of his native village!\*

It is not enough, when we hear of twenty or thirty thousand slain on the field of battle, to heave a sentimental sigh, or to utter an unmeaning ejaculation of astonishment. Such an occasion is one, if we mistake not, which requires real astonishment, real sorrow, deep reflection, anxious inquiry, the exercise of the benevolent sympathies, and unfeigned humiliation before God. It is impossible to repress the desire we feel, that men generally, particularly those who profess to be guided by the principles of the Gospel, should look this great subject fearlessly in the face, not only in its outlines, but its details. With but few exceptions it is certainly not too much to say, that they have never done it as yet. Let it not for a moment be supposed that we can excuse ourselves in this important inquiry; that we can step aside and leave it to others; that we have personally nothing to do, no responsibility to meet, no opinion to express, no warning to utter. The poet Cowper has somewhere said, that he would not reckon in his list of friends the man, who should needlessly set foot upon a worm; and it will not be denied, that this language is expressive of a disposition

\* See *Recollections of the Peninsula*, Am. Ed. pp. 159, 162, 243, 247.

which promptly commends itself to the just and benevolent feelings of our nature. Yes, it is beyond all question, that as men, as creatures of God, we are to be sparing even of the blood of a brute animal, of the life even of an insect. And what shall we say then, when we steadily contemplate the scenes which have now been laid open before us; when we see not mere worms and insects destroyed, but human beings; men, created in our own likeness, horribly mangled and torn to pieces; in some cases thousands of acres of ground covered with piles of dead; women and children pierced through and dashed down and trodden into dust; the wounded left to perish on bleak snows or burnt to death in their own hospitals; multitudes frozen with the cold and perishing with famine; every possible form and degree of agony and despair. Can we be deemed unreasonable in saying, that this is a state of things which must be met, must be looked into; that it is high time for philosophers, for politicians, above all for professed Christians to scrutinize it with the deepest solicitude? Shall the attention of the whole scientific and intellectual world be directed to the comparatively trifling circumstance of the discovery of a new plant, to the fall of a meteoric stone, or to some atmospheric phenomenon, and shall war, that great moral phenomenon, so inexplicable as to strike angels with astonishment, and to fill even the spirits of darkness with wonder, be deemed of so little consequence as to arrest no thought, excite no feeling, and secure no spirit of inquiry?"

For the Influence of War on Domestic Life, see Article I., No. II. of this journal. The cases detailed are full of interest.—The following is an abstract of the argument to show the influence of war on the morals of soldiers:—

"The soldier is removed from those many favorable and powerful influences which result from domestic life and from the general relations of society. He is not only removed from those influences of domestic life so favorable to a course of virtue; but is placed under the pressure of other influences of a wholly opposite character, tending directly to vice. There is something in the very nature of a military life, even if all the concomitant influences were unexceptionable, which leads to moral evil. A large proportion of the soldiers, perhaps nine tenths of them, never form an estimate, founded on a careful and candid examination of the facts in the case, of the justice or injustice of the war in which they are engaged. They slay their fellow men without having formed any deliberate opinion whether the action in that particular case is right or wrong. They imbue their hands in blood with much the same carelessness or indifference with which a butcher sheds the blood of an ox or a lamb. Hence, military life becomes



the mere dreadful business of the butchery of human beings. The life of a soldier is necessarily a continued and rapid process of moral induration ; so much so, that not unfrequently, he who went forth from his father's house a human being, returns with the guilt and cruelty, and stupidity, and hardness of a monster."

The chapter entitled "Influence of War on National Prosperity," contains some statements of the expenditures caused by war. Professor Upham says,

"According to a recent publication, showing the extent, population, revenue, and debt of the principal states of Europe for 1829, the debt of Russia was at that time £35,550,000 ; of Austria, £78,100,000 ; of France, £194,400,000 ; of Spain, £70,000,000 ; of Netherlands, including Belgium, £148,500,000 ; of Prussia, £29,701,000 ; of Great Britain, £819,600,000. These enormous masses of debt were incurred in consequence of wars."

And, as a consequence of debt, comes taxation, to harass the people and eat up their substance :—

"Their lands are taxed, their houses are taxed, their cattle are taxed, their persons are taxed, the very light of heaven, in the shape of an impost on windows, is taxed ; indeed, it is not easy to mention any thing which is free, not merely from taxation, but from *excessive* taxation."

The influence of war on national prosperity is manifested in another form :—

"In the *second* place, we must take into view the loss suffered by the community, in consequence of the abstraction of the vast numbers, that are employed in armies and navies, from *profitable* employments. A nation's resources are to be considered as diminished, not only by what it is compelled to pay, but also by what it might have saved to itself from its own efforts by taking a different course. The loss, in this point of view, is immense. In time of war, the land forces of Europe, as we have already had occasion to remark, amount to 4,578,430. And yet this vast body of men, consisting precisely of that portion which is most active and efficient, depend wholly upon others for their support ; they do nothing of themselves towards this object ; the whole burden of their maintenance is thrown upon others. As to all positively beneficial purposes, aside from the benefits which are commonly

though erroneously supposed to be connected with war, they are mere drones in the social and political hive, utterly useless. If these men were required to beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; if they were permitted to remain in a situation, where they could apply themselves to the business of agriculture, to the fisheries, to navigation, and the common arts of peace, what beneficial results would speedily follow! The inhabitants at home would not only be freed from the immense expense attendant upon supporting them in idleness; but there would be a positive and rapid accession to the resources and wealth of the community, which would diffuse a vivifying and cheering influence through all classes of people and all branches of industry. The face of nature and of the useful arts would be changed at once. What sterile and desolate tracts of country would be rendered fertile; what marshes would be reclaimed; what numbers of canals would be opened and rail-roads erected; what an increase of the productions of the earth necessary for man's subsistence; what an impulse would be given to commerce!"

The "Influence of War on the Progress of Civilization," is exhibited under the following heads:—The Cultivation of the Soil; the Progress of the Fine Arts; Science and Literature; the Interruption of the Principles and Institutions of Social Life; Religious Life and Religious Institutions; Civil and Political Institutions; Humanity. Each of these topics Professor Upham develops, though not at very great length, still sufficiently to show their importance. We should be glad to give extracts from his remarks on each of them, but we have room only for the conclusion of the chapter:—

"It is needless to multiply instances further, or to add any thing more on this general topic. As war, in its very nature, involves that hostility and violence, which are characteristic of barbarism, so it effectually tends to make men barbarians; it tends to eradicate all the kindly and generous sensibilities; it throws men back in the scale of civilization; and reduces them to a condition of recklessness, stupidity, and cruelty, characteristic of the lowest and vilest brute animals. Nor are we sure that this language is strong enough. It is here, in this melancholy view of men's conduct, that we find ourselves not disposed to object to one of the aphoristic sayings of Coleridge. 'If a man is not rising upwards to be an angel, depend upon it he is sinking downwards to be a devil. He cannot stop at the beast. The most savage of men are not beasts; *they are worse; a great deal worse.*'"

The following extracts will exhibit the nature of the argument used to illustrate the "Influence of War upon Missions :"—

"The Missionary comes to the heathen, with that simplicity and purity of views appropriate to his character, and announces a new and better religion, full of benignity, love, and peace. It is, undoubtedly, a great announcement, calculated to startle and arouse the attention of the most ignorant and prejudiced. But, unfortunately for the Missionary, the heathen whom he addresses are already too well acquainted with the character of those professedly Christian nations from whom he comes. The Missionary announces to them as one great element of the Gospel, that it induces men to renounce strife and contention, to love each other, and to treat all mankind as their brethren. But they at once exhibit their incredulity; they state to him, that the people from whom he comes, and who have heard the disclosures of the Gospel from their childhood, are continually in conflict; they themselves have heard the roar of their cannon; they have seen the flash of their swords; nay, more, their own families have been assaulted; their own houses have been rifled; their own beloved children have been torn away and carried into captivity by men, who called themselves Christians. This is not a mere picture of the imagination. Many are the Missionaries, beyond all question, who can testify with hearts rent and bleeding at the misconduct of their own countrymen, that it is even so. Mr. Medhurst, an English Missionary at Batavia, once presented a tract to a Malay. The Malay, on receiving it, said to the Missionary, 'Are you coming to teach me this new religion? Look at your own countrymen. They live worse than we do.' It is said, that the emperor of China gave as a reason for refusing the admittance of the Christian religion into his empire, that, '*wherever Christians go, they whiten the soil with human bones.*'"

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"We are at this moment endeavoring to give the Gospel and all the blessedness of the Gospel to the remnants of the savage tribes within our own limits. But what is the language, which, beyond all question, multitudes of these poor Indians utter, in their hearts at least, in answer to the most persuasive invitations? 'You bring us the Gospel of love and peace, but how can we accept it or have any confidence in its value, when it has so little effect upon your own countrymen. They have been among us, and we know what they are. They have cheated us out of our lands; they have violated the most solemn treaties, guaranteeing to us the little that was left; they have brought fire and sword; they have burnt our wigwams; they have killed our wives and our little ones; we are desolate; how can we receive your Gospel!'"

We have thus indicated, though very briefly, the course pursued by Professor Upham, in exhibiting the "Evils of War." We recommend to our readers, one and all, to read his chapters on this subject for themselves. If what we have said shall induce any to read them, who would not otherwise have done so, we shall have obtained our object. It is a matter of very high moment, that all men should have correct views on the subject of the evils which result from war. A sober estimate of them would, in our opinion, go far to free men's minds from the illusions of military glory, to render them extremely circumspect over their words and their acts in regard to any measures of a pugnacious character; indeed, if both the parties, in any international differences, were fully awake to the enormous evils which war occasions, they would be at no loss to find a pacific mode for their settlement. If governments would look seriously at these evils, in the light in which Professor Upham points them out, they would, to say the least, most studiously avoid the occasions on which war usually arises. They would be fully convinced, that contention better be let alone before it be meddled with; and they would *study* the things which make for peace. How few, alas, have ever devoted themselves to this study!

Professor Upham, in treating of the Remedies for the Evils of War, examines war by the light of Nature, of the Old Testament, and of the Gospel. We observe also two distinct Chapters on the subject of Capital Punishment. Having arrived at the conclusion that human life is inviolable, and that *all* war is wrong, he recommends societies formed on the principle of total abstinence from all military service, either by personal duty or by the payment of a military fine, "so long as such payment is in any degree subservient to the purposes of war." These he considers the most, if not the only efficacious measures which can be pursued, in promoting the cause of peace.

Here it is proper for us to say, that the American Peace Society as such, has no creed on particular points. Its object is to promote peace. All its members are supposed to be pledged to this object, but at the same time are left to the enjoyment of

their own individual opinions. We, as an individual, do not entertain the same views on the particular points above alluded to, as some others who are aiming at the same general object. We profess to be as deeply impressed with the idea of the momentous value of human life as any of our fellow laborers in this cause ; but we are not sure that the best way, on the whole, to preserve it, in the *actual* state of society, is not for human government, in *certain cases*, to take it. Nor have we been able to satisfy ourselves, that, according to our principles of interpretation, the Scriptures forbid human governments *ever* to exercise the power of taking life. Nor, although we cannot doubt that all revenge, all malice, all hatred of enemies, are expressly forbidden by the gospel, and the exercise of benevolent feelings, in all cases, expressly enjoined, are we able to perceive that the same gospel, taken in its whole scope and extent, forbids the carrying of physical resistance, in all conceivable cases, to such an extent that it may result in death. It is admitted, that by the light of nature, resistance *may*, in certain extreme cases, be rightly carried to such an extent. We cannot conceive it possible, that the light of nature should ever teach one thing to be right, and the light of revelation teach the *same* thing to be wrong.—We know there is a theory in regard to the origin of human governments from which some have derived an argument against the right of such governments to take life. This theory supposes all men, antecedently to the existence of government, as living in a state of nature, and possessing certain natural rights and liberties. It also supposes, that convinced of the necessity of government, they enter into society, which is a compact by which they surrender up some of these rights and liberties to be exercised only by certain constituted authorities. The argument derived from this theory is, Man has no right to take his own life. He had no right to invest human governments with a right which he did not possess himself. Therefore, human governments have no right to take life. This conclusion is manifestly a *non sequitur*. It does not follow from the premises. If the major proposition had been, Man in a state of nature had not the

right in any case to take the life of another, (not of himself) the conclusion would be a legitimate sequence. But, this theory of government is a mere legal fiction; government, in point of *fact*, has grown up in the same manner as the common law. Like the soil of an alluvion, it is the result of the imperceptible accumulation of ages. The hand of man has been employed, it is true, to hasten the formation, or to supply its deficiencies, but this does not alter the general fact. Man is born into government as into the air and the light of heaven. Like the air and the light, it embraces him at the first moment of his earthly existence; but unlike the air and the light, it is susceptible of various modifications at his hands, the better to suit it to common use and enjoyment.—There is another argument which is sometimes used to prove that human life can in no case be rightly taken. It is said that life is the gift of the Creator; it is that which man, neither in his individual nor in his social capacity, can bestow; therefore, man, neither in his individual nor in his social capacity, has, in any case, the right to take it away.—By the same method of reasoning, we might show that all restraints imposed upon personal liberty by man, either in his individual or social capacity, is wrong. Personal liberty is the gift of the Creator; it is that which man, neither in his individual nor in his social capacity, can bestow; it “consists in the power of loco-motion, of changing situation, or moving one’s person to whatsoever place one’s own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint.”\* This power man cannot confer; therefore he has no right to take it away. Such a conclusion clearly denies the right of government to use any physical restraint. We imagine that those who adopt the same course of reasoning, in regard to human life, would, in this case, stop short of the conclusion to which it leads.

While our own views, and the views of many who are interested in the promotion of the same great object, are, as we have intimated, in regard to certain points, different from the views of others, we still perceive ground broad enough on which

\* Blackstone’s Com. Book I. Ch. 1. p. 136.

ALL may stand and labor *together*. We can all be united in awaking men to behold the unutterable miseries of war ; in stripping off the gorgeous habiliments with which the imagination has clothed the malignant passions, and exhibiting their naked deformity ; in persuading mankind instead of borrowing the drapery of the imagination for the concealment of these passions, to bring the passions themselves into obedience to the precepts of justice, benevolence, and mercy, enjoined in the gospel. We can, with united voice, bear testimony against the maxims of false honor and vain glory. We can stand together and behold the life and immortality brought to light in the gospel, and so standing and beholding, we can, with one accord, proclaim the infinite moment of the period of probation, and the dread responsibility assumed by those who terminate it by inflicting death.

We can show the futility of the system of war as a means of obtaining what is wrongfully withheld from us. We can exhibit its utter absurdity as a means of deciding questions of controverted right, its utter inhumanity, as a system of penalty, when contrasted with the rules of the civil law. The most distinguished commentator on English law thus remarks, "It is a kind of quackery in government, and argues a want of solid skill to apply the same universal remedy, the *ultimum supplicium*, to every case of difficulty. It is, it must be owned, much *easier* to extirpate than to amend mankind ; yet that magistrate must be esteemed both a weak and cruel surgeon, who cuts off every limb, which through ignorance or indolence he will not attempt to cure."\* The advocates of peace are all perfectly agreed as to the sentiment here expressed. There is a virtue in moral power, systematically, perseveringly cultivated, with which governments seem but little acquainted. This virtue needs to be clearly, fully, and repeatedly, set forth.—International law is susceptible of amelioration and extension. Take, for example, the rule which allows of private war on the ocean. This is one of the nurseries of war. It appeals most

\* Blackstone's Com. Book IV. Ch. 1. p. 17, 18.

strongly to human cupidity, and furnishes it with a plausible justification for its exercise.

Nearly eighty pages of the work of Professor Upham are devoted to Suggestions on the Law of Nations. The topics discussed are, Progress of the Law of Nations, Approximation of International Law to the Principles of the Gospel, Principles and Practice of Blockade, Articles Contraband of War, Free Ships, Free Goods, War on Private Property on the Ocean, Privateering, Piracies, Right of Search and Impressment, Property in the Ocean, Fisheries and Navigable Rivers, Neutral Trade not open in time of Peace, and Right of Armed Interposition. In tracing the progress of international law from its chaotic and barbarous, to its present improved state, the influence of Grotius and other writers is clearly set forth. It had a most powerful tendency to promote a pacific intercourse. Professor Upham, speaking of Grotius, Puffendorf, and Bynkershoek, says, "They went forth like the first preachers of the Gospel, armed with the rectitude of their cause. They spoke in the name of reason and humanity, and powerful nations bowed at their voice." In discussing the other topics of international law, Professor Upham suggests improvements, and exhibits the bearing of existing rules, and of proposed rules, on the peace of the world. Here is surely a vast field on which we all may enter, as on common ground. There are also motives enough common to all, and motives sufficiently available; motives from interest, from reason, from humanity, from justice, from benevolence, from the Gospel. Let us labor *together*, and there shall go forth upon the world an influence like the dew of Hermon upon the mountains of Zion. It will return, and descend upon ourselves, and we too shall rejoice in its refreshing power.

There are several other topics discussed by Professor Upham, in treating of the Remedies for War, which we should be glad to notice more at length than our limits will allow. Some of these topics are, Objections drawn from the New Testament, Testimony and Practice of the Primitive Christians, War in connection with the Millennium, Popular Objections, On Exercising



the Office of Chaplain, War in connection with Education, National Glory as connected with War, Practical Efficacy of the Principles of Peace.—“Part Third” of the work is devoted to the subject of a Congress of Nations.

There are certain passages of the New Testament, such, for example as, *He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one*, which are sometimes brought forward as giving sanction to the custom of war. We cannot here specify them all, but we do not hesitate to say, that no man who is not either a caviller, or ignorant of the simplest principles of interpretation, can suppose that they have any thing to do with the subject. Professor Upham truly exposes the fallacy of the argument drawn from the passage in question, by showing that if it proves any thing in favor of war, it proves also that *two* swords are sufficient for *eleven* men. *And they said unto him, Behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, it is enough.* There is a mode of interpretation prevalent which is fraught with infinite mischief. It is that mode of which the above instance is a specimen. It looks at particular passages apart from their connection, and from the circumstances in which they were uttered. It is a mode of interpreting by the *letter*, and not by the *spirit*. We hope, if it is to be employed at all on the subject of peace and war, it will always be on the side of war. We should be sorry to see it in the ranks of peace. There is a mode of reasoning very nearly allied to it. It discerns no differences—uses no discrimination. Having found a remedy for one disease, it applies it to every other. Having established a rule of right and wrong, in one case, it applies it to every other. It prescribes to human government in the actual condition of mankind, the same, precise course of conduct which it would be proper for it to pursue if sin had never been known upon the earth. It is a mode of reasoning which we trust will always be employed in a bad cause. A good cause does not need its aid.

On the subject of the Testimony and Practice of the Primitive Christians, Professor Upham observes, that his statements are taken from Clarkson's Essay on this subject. We should

have been pleased if he had given the results of an original investigation. The public want to see cases detailed *circumstantially*. The Chapters on War in connection with Education, and on National Glory, are excellent. Parents, teachers, ministers of religion, men of science and literature, are in an especial sense, entrusted with the formation of the moral sentiments of the age. From the Chapter on National Glory, the following passages are extracted:—

“The phrase National Glory suggests something rather more definite, than the single term glory, used without any qualifying epithet. National glory, as the phrase is commonly understood, at the present time, expresses that species of reputation or honor, which is founded on brave and successful efforts in war. We do not mean to intimate, that such is necessarily its basis, but merely to express the fact, that such at least is its *imputed* basis. If there is any other foundation of national glory, it is scarcely recognized, and is certainly regarded as of little or no account. Such, therefore, is the perversity of the human mind on this subject, that a nation's glory is estimated to be nearly in proportion to the national capabilities for destroying the human race in future, and the successful exercise of those capabilities in time past. When an Englishman speaks of the glory of his country, what is it he is thinking of—what particular recollections and associations occur to his mind? His mind is undoubtedly more taken up with the recollection of military achievements, than with any thing else. He is musing, in all probability, on what his country has done nobly and successfully in war; on the splendid names of Blake, Howe and Nelson, of Marlborough and Wellington, and others renowned in the history of his country, particularly in naval warfare; and is, perhaps, running over in his mind the spirited lyrics of Campbell,

“Ye mariners of England,  
Who guard our native seas,  
Whose flag has braved a thousand years  
The battle and the breeze.”

“And when a Frenchman speaks of the glory of France, what is *his* train of thought—and what are *his* reflections? Is his attention directed to the agriculture of the country, its commerce, its common schools, its social improvement, the progress of the useful arts, advancement in morals and religion? Whatever place these may have in his thoughts at other times, it is almost certain that, when his mind is inflated with the grand conception of national glory, they are never thought of. It is the pageant of warriors, battle fields, and military monuments, that is sweeping before his

excited memory ; the battle of the Pyramids, the glorious death of Desaix, the wonderful passage of the Alps worthy of the modern Hannibal, and the sublime pencil of David, the terrible bridge of Lodi, the victory and the sun of Austerlitz.

"National glory, therefore, in the common apprehension of the term, is to be regarded as the designation or name of a complex conception, embracing the various elements and capabilities of war, particularly as they have been exhibited in the past history of a country. And as such it is revolved, mused upon, and cherished, till it becomes a sort of personification, a species of animated existence, floating in the air and radiant with celestial hues, and beckoning the beholders onward and upward to the transcendent heights.—Now what we mean to say is, that national glory, as thus understood, is a source of unspeakable evil ; and that this false image, which is leading men astray, and hurrying them on to deeds of blood, ought to be demolished."

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"But how are the evils, which are now complained of, to be corrected ?—In the first place, by showing that the glory, which is based upon the elements, capabilities, and spirit of war, is no glory at all ; but rather dishonour, disgrace, and ruin. And, although this is certainly a matter of some difficulty, yet it can probably be accomplished with suitable pains on the part of those who feel an interest in the subject of peace. Let Christians and philanthropists avail themselves of the agency of the press, and communicate extensively the statistics of the expenses of war, the increase of the people's burdens occasioned by war, the immense loss of human life, the demoralizing effect of standing armies, the innumerable forms of domestic wretchedness originating from national strife, and the eyes of mankind will at last begin to open ; they will arise as from a dream ; the bright form of National glory, based upon war, will change its lustre and look dark and lowering ; and under the impulse of better views, they will dash their idol to the ground, and trample it under their feet.

"In the second place, efforts ought to be made to build national reputation or glory on a more correct foundation.—And in order to this, there must be, among other things, a great revolution in literature ; a revolution which is already begun and is perceptibly advancing. As matters now stand, music, painting, statuary, history, poetry, are all subservient to that false idea of national glory, which is so prevalent. But a great change is destined to take place. As an instance and illustration of what has been remarked, we doubt not that the time will come, and probably soon come, when history will assume a new form, and be written upon new principles. It is now a mere series of battles. Very little is said of the organization of government, and of the principles, on which governments are in *fact*, or *ought* to be administered ; still less of the progress of the arts and of knowledge in general, of the

character and habits, of the virtues and vices, of the sufferings and enjoyments of the great body of the people. Military matters are predominant, and every thing else is thrown into the back ground. But the public mind begins to tire of these details of blood, and to demand another kind of food. The multiplication of such works as Hallam's Constitutional History of England and Pitkin's Civil and Political History of the United States, (not to mention others of a mixed historical and political character, such as La Croix's Review of the Constitutions of the principal States of Europe, President Adams' Defence of the Constitution of the United States, and Judge Story's Commentaries on the American Constitution,) clearly indicates, that the public taste is becoming less warlike and more civic. So great is the change already taken place, that a debate in Congress, Convention, Parliament, Storting, or Cortes, on some great constitutional or political question, excites an interest throughout the nation, which a few years since could have been excited only by the announcement of thirty or forty thousand slain in some great battle. And now let people generally begin to feel, that their national glory, at least one great element of it, consists in the excellence of their civil and political institutions rather than in their ability and skill in war, and the war-spirit will soon be sensibly diminished, and the effects will be exceedingly beneficial."

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"In the third place, let the agricultural and mechanical arts, and all other arts of an innocent and useful character, receive more attention and honor. As matters now stand, at least in many parts of the world, the soldier is held in special esteem, and is the subject of marked notice and attention, while the mechanic and the husbandman are looked upon as belonging to a lower and less honorable class. Public feeling and sentiment in this respect should every where be set right. Some of the greatest and best of men have been cultivators of the soil. The remark of Washington, in one of his letters to Arthur Young, is worthy of being repeated and of being remembered. 'The more I am acquainted with agricultural affairs, the better I am pleased with them, in so much that I can no where find so great satisfaction, as in those innocent and useful pursuits. In indulging these feelings, I am led to reflect, how much more delightful to an undebauched mind is the task of making improvements on the earth, than the VAIN GLORY which can be acquired from ravaging it, by the most uninterrupted career of conquest.'

"Finally, let the public sentiment be so directed and improved, that men shall begin to realize the existence of national glory, in the truest and best sense of those expressions, in the diffusion of knowledge, in common schools, in Sabbath schools, in the spread of correct moral sentiments, in the preaching of the Gospel, in the training of souls for heaven. It is in elements like these, that we

find the basis of a true and abiding glory, which angels can behold with pleasure, and which God himself can approve. As the millennial day approaches, it is glory of this kind, which is destined to arise and extend itself, and gather strength and brightness from age to age, while military and all other spurious forms of glory will sink and be blasted forever."

The First Chapter on the subject of a Congress of Nations is devoted to historical notices of different assemblies which have been held from time to time, under the name of Congresses and Conferences, for the settlement of international questions. The history of European Congresses appears to begin with the diplomatic assemblies, held at the two towns of Munster and Osnabruecks, but which, by the agreement of the parties concerned, formed but one Congress. This Congress was held in 1644. Between this period and 1713, there were ten public Conferences or Congresses, held in different parts of Europe; and between 1713 and 1814 there were twenty-two. Congresses have been repeatedly held since 1814 down to the present time. The Congress which the friends of peace contemplate, is intended to be of a permanent character; to be composed of ministers from every civilized nation, and to act not as a legislative, but as a diplomatic assembly; a sort of high court of reference. Professor Upham enumerates as some of the objects which might receive the attention of such a body, the following, viz.: Inalienable Rights, Crimes against Humanity, Improvements in the Law of Nations, Commercial Intercourse, Naturalization and Allegiance, Contracts in relation to Different Countries, Majority, Evidence, and Law of Domicil, Retaliation in War, Measures for the Relief of Suffering Nations, Interpretation of Treaties, Military Regulations in Time of Peace, the Entire and Permanent Extinction of War, Weights and Measures, the Slave Trade.—Although the precise object at which those who are in favor of a Congress of Nations are aiming, should never be realized, still the investigations and inquiries which discussions of the subject, like this of Professor Upham, are calculated to call forth, and the collateral trains of thought which they are calculated to awaken, may be produc-

tive of important results. What does not science owe to investigations which, though continued to the end of time, could never have conducted to the proposed object of research ! Of the practicability of establishing a Congress of Nations which shall answer the purposes in question, we do not, however, here intend to express any opinion. At some future opportunity we may resume the subject.

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#### ARTICLE IV.

#### CRITICAL NOTICES.

BY THE EDITOR.

1. *Fanaticism ; By the Author of Natural History of Enthusiasm. New-York : Jonathan Leavitt, 1834.*

THIS is a republication of an English work. It is too well known in this country to require any analysis at our hands. We shall notice only a single chapter, and that, because its subject falls within the scope of this journal. We allude to the Chapter on the Alliance of the Malign Emotions with the Imagination. The author supposes the imagination to have had a moderating and refining effect upon these emotions ; that although it has given the appearance of virtue to their exercise, and thus sometimes been the cause of war, it has still “softened and relieved it in its attendant horrors.” Thus, in the absence of the genuine principles of morals, imaginative sentiments, false and spurious as they are, the author supposes, have had, on the whole, a beneficial influence. He says :—

“If nature denies to the irascible passions any attendant sense of pleasure, she absolutely refuses them also, at least in their simple state, the power of awakening the sympathy, or of exciting the admiration of those who witness their ebullition. These harsh elements of the moral system must be taken into combination with sentiments of a different, and a happier order, and must almost be